

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION GENEVA FLASH

S E C R E T STATE 298341

NODIS

FOL TEL SENT USDELSECRETARY FROM SECSTATE DTD 08 DEC 1976 QTE

S E C R E T STATE 298341 TOSEC 320061

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: TALKING POINTS FOR WISNER'S
USE WITH IAN SMITH (S/S 7625212 RESUBMISSION)

TO THE SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFLE THROUGH ROBINSON

1. TALKING POINTS IN PARA 2 HAVE BEEN RECAST PER SECTO
32017 FOR YOUR APPROVAL AND TRANSMISSION TO GENEVA FOR
WISNER.

2. SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: TALKING POINTS FOR
WISNER'S USE WITH IAN SMITH.

A--WE ARE PLEASED TO SEE YOU BACK IN GENEVA.

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B--WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE A PATIENTLY NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT
IS THE WAY TO INSURE THE BEST POSSIBLE CONDITIONS FOR
RHODESIA'S EUROPEAN COMMUNITY BOTH DURING AND AFTER THE
TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

C--WE REMAIN DEDICATED TO THE GOAL OF MAJORITY RULE WITH ADEQUATE SAFEGUARDS FOR THE MINORITY AND WILL DO ALL WE CAN TO ENCOURAGE A SETTLEMENT THAT WILL ACHIEVE THESE RESULTS.

D--WE HAVE ARGUED VIGOROUSLY FOR REALISM AND COMPROMISE ON THE NATIONALIST SIDE. THE SECRETARY SENT PERSONAL MESSAGES TO THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS EARLIER THIS WEEK URGING THEM TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO ENCOURAGE MODERATION.

E--IT IS THE SECRETARY'S STRONG VIEW THAT THE CONFERENCE SHOULD NOT BREAK UP BECAUSE OF RHODESIAN STATEMENTS OR ACTIONS. THEREFORE, AS COMMUNICATED TO YOU THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, THE SECRETARY WOULD URGE YOU TO BE PATIENT.

F--WE BELIEVE THE RHODESIAN DELEGATION COULD HELP CONTRIBUTE TO A MORE BUSINESSLIKE DISCUSSION OF THE ISSUES AND A BETTER HEARING FOR ITS OWN POSITIONS BY ADOPTING CAUTIOUS, CONCILIATORY TONE IN DISCUSSING NATIONALIST PROPOSALS.

G--WHAT IS YOUR ASSESSMENT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION?

H--HAVE YOU FOUND ANY ASPECTS OF THE VARIOUS NATIONALIST PROPOSALS THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE IF AMENDED, OR SERVE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS?

I--WE UNDERSTAND YOUR DELEGATION IS CONSIDERING SUBMISSION OF A DETAILED PROPOSAL TO FILL OUT THE FIVE POINTS AND AGREE THAT THE TIME HAS COME FOR THIS TO BE DONE.

J--WHILE WE HAVE NOT SIUDIED YOUR PROPOSAL, WE WOULD SUGGEST THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF ANY BASIC COMPROMISES YOU HOPE CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED BE PUT FORWARD BY THE CHAIRMAN. WE WOULD CAUTION AGAINST YOUR PROPOSING THINGS
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FROM ANNEX C, FOR INSTANCE, THAT HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO SUGGEST AS PART OF A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL THAT HE CAN CHARACTERIZE AS INCLUDING IDEAS FROM ALL SIDES. ON THE OTHER HAND IF YOU CAN INCORPORATE IN YOUR PROPOSAL IDEAS THAT HAVE BEEN PUT FORWARD BY THE NATIONALISTS, SUCH A GESTURE WOULD INCREASE THE ACCEPTABILITY OF YOUR PRESENTATION AND DEMONSTRATE THAT YOU ARE NEGOTIATING IN GOOD FAITH.

K--I SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT IT DOES NOT HELP TO KEEP DESCRIBING THE FIVE POINTS TO THE NATIONALISTS, EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH PUBLIC STATEMENTS, AS A "CONTRACT" WITH US OR THE BRITISH. SUGGESTIONS THAT THE FIVE POINTS WERE PART OF A GUARANTEE OF SOME SORT (WHICH, AS YOU KNOW, THEY WERE NOT) CARRY NO WEIGHT WITH EITHER THE NATIONALISTS

OR THE FRONT LINE STATES, PARTICULARLY THE NATIONALISTS WHO SEE NO REASON TO COMPROMISE TOWARD SOMETHING YOU DESCRIBE AS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

L--WHILE WE SAID WE WOULD NOT PRESS YOU TO GO BEYOND ANNEX C, WE DID NOT AND COULD NOT GUARANTEE THAT YOU COULD OBTAIN ALL OF ANNEX C, SINCE THE EVENTUAL CONTENTS OF AN AGREEMENT WILL DEPEND ON NEGOTIATIONS. YOU MAY WISH, ON YOUR OWN, TO CONSIDER WHETHER ANY VARIATIONS TO ANNEX C COULD SERVE YOUR PURPOSES NEARLY AS WELL. FOR NEGOTIATING PURPOSES YOU MIGHT EVEN CONSIDER WHETHER CERTAIN NATIONALIST PROPOSALS COULD BE AMENDED TO MAKE THEM MORE ACCEPTABLE.

M--WE NOTE THAT IN RESPONSE TO PRESSURE FROM SOME OF THE AFRICAN DELEGATES AND OBSERVERS, THE BRITISH HAVE INDICATED THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO CONSIDER SOME KIND OF ROLE IN THE TRANSITION IF THERE WERE GENERAL AGREEMENT IN GENEVA THAT THIS MIGHT BE USEFUL. IS THIS SOMETHING YOU STILL OPPOSE? WHY?

N--WE KNOW OF YOUR DELEGATION'S FEELING THAT RICHARD HAS NOT TRIED HARD ENOUGH TO SELL THE PRINCIPLES OF ANNEX C. HOWEVER, OUR OWN CONSULTATIONS WITH NATIONALIST REPRESENTATIVES SHOW TREMENDOUS DISTRUST OF THE TWO-TIER IDEA, AS WELL AS THE IDEA OF A EUROPEAN CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF SECRET

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STATE AND EUROPEAN SECURITY MINISTERS. (STATEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO SOME OF YOUR PARTY SUPPORTERS HAVE TENDED TO HARDEN THE NATIONALISTS' POSITIONS BY FEEDING ON THEIR FEARS THAT SUCH FEATURES WOULD BE USED TO DELAY MAJORITY RULE INDEFINITELY.)

O--THE IDEA OF A BRITISH ROLE HAS BEEN SUGGESTED AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE PROTECTION YOU SEEK IN PARITY AND EUROPEAN CONTROL OF DEFENSE. IF A BRITISH ROLE IS UNACCEPTABLE ARE OTHER SUBSTITUTES POSSIBLE?

P--IT SEEMS OBVIOUS THE CONFERENCE CANNOT COMPLETE ITS WORK BY DECEMBER 20 AND SOME PEOPLE ARE TALKING ABOUT A RECESS. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW?

Q--A RECESS OR ADJOURNMENT MAY BE BETTER THAN AN OUTRIGHT BREAKDOWN. WHAT DO YOU THINK YOU COULD DO IN A RECESS PERIOD? --IN CASE OF A BREAKDOWN?

R--WE HAVE HEARD SUGGESTIONS ATTRIBUTED TO YOU THAT YOU MIGHT TRY TO APPLY THE FIVE POINTS AT HOME. WE BELIEVE ANY ATTEMPT TO DO THIS WITHOUT A MAJORITY OF THE GENEVA PARTICIPANTS WOULD NOT ONLY BE DOOMED TO FAILURE BUT COULD STIMULATE THE KIND OF DANGEROUS FACTIONALISM THAT

PLAGUED ANGOLA. WE WOULD URGE YOU TO STICK TO NEGOTIATIONS
WITH ALL PARTIES.

3. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE CABLING TEXT OF
PARA 2 ABOVE TO GENEVA FOR WISNER.

A. APPROVE

B. DISAPPROVE

4. DRAFTED: AF:WBEDMONDSON; CLEARED: AF:WESCHAUFLELE,JR.
S - DPASSAGE. ROBINSON UNQTE ROBINSON

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